

The Republican.

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ANOTHER PLOT MANUFACTURED BY MINISTERS.

Poor John Bull is again exposed to a dreadful nervous debility, in consequence of another "most horrid and diabolical plot" being discovered, just at the moment that it was about to explode. We have been so much accustomed to these imaginary and Downing Street plots of late, that they appear to be essential to the support of the present system. The reign of Charles the Second will be lost sight of, in regard to being famous for plots, when compared with the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth. That another Castles will be found to be the instigator of this business (for it is not worthy of being called a plot) I have no doubt. Several circumstances have already transpired, which strike me very forcibly, that the Earl of Harrowby has had more to do with the discovery of this affair, than is yet represented to us. I write this article on Monday morning, the 28th of February. All that I have heard or can collect on this business, up to this moment is, that a number of persons met armed, in a certain hay-loft, stable, &c. in Cato Street, St. John Street, Marylebone, and that it was intended they should issue from thence and attack the house of Lord Harrowby, in Grosvenor Square, where a Cabinet dinner was about to take place, and that some one communicated the particulars to the Earl of Harrowby, in the morning of the day on which it was to have happened. I believe all this and much more. I have further heard, that a party of police and military were ready to cope with these dreadful conspirators, by which a police officer was killed, and many others wounded on both sides: that a coroner's inquest has been held on the body of the police officer, who have returned a verdict of wilful murder, against Arthur Thistlewood, and nine others, by name, with many others unknown. I have also heard, through the medium of a Salisbury paper, that one of the party has already turned evidence for the crown. Now the first thing that strikes me forcibly, is the character and conduct of Davidson, the

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black man, and more particularly so, from what has occurred between this man and myself. I have had a personal interview, or at least an exchange of words with this man, Davidson, at three several times, and I feel it a duty I owe to the public, and particularly to those who might have been ensnared into this gong, without knowing the object of it, to state what has transpired between this man, Davidson, and myself. I had not been many days confined in the King's Bench prison, after my trial, before I received a long letter, filled with strong professions of attachment, the drift of it being an offer of sixty or seventy of the same mind as the writer, to effect my rescue, even at the hazard and sacrifice of their lives : it was signed, I believe, "R. Davidson." The writer endeavoured to make himself known to me, by saying, that he was the man of colour I had once seen at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand, sitting amongst a Committee of persons, which consisted of Thistlewood and several others, for the purpose of managing Mr. Hunt's public entry into London, from Manchester. The public will recollect, that the papers mentioned a dispute between two parties, about which should take the lead in managing the procession of Mr. Hunt, on that day. The case was this, Thistlewood and his party had resolved, in spite of all opposition, to take the lead on this occasion. There were a few other tradesmen, who had not been the firmest adherents of Mr. Hunt, yet they were so much pleased with the whole of his conduct in Lancashire, as to say, that if a public entry was insisted on, it would be better to take the management of it out of the hands of Thistlewood, as tending to make the show more respectable. Thistlewood and his friends would not hear a word of this, and claimed a priority, in consequence of their uniform adherence to Mr. Hunt : the other party receded, and took no further part in the business, other than being present at the dinner. In consequence of my situation in business, I was requested to receive subscriptions, to forward this business ; and, on the Saturday night previous to the entry, I went to the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to hand over the trifle I had received. Here, on entering the room, I was not a little surprised at being accosted, in a very free and open manner, by this black man, Davidson, who appeared from his vivacity to keep the whole company alive. I had never seen him before, and wondered at it, as such was my situation and connexion

with all classes of Reformers, in point of business, that I knew the face of almost every forward man in London, by their coming to my shop for pamphlets. It struck me as singular, that a man of his complexion, should be an active member of such a Committee. Opposite to this Davidson sat a well-dressed man, who was quite a stranger to me, he was about fifty years of age, and had a more respectable appearance than any other person in the room: he was a silent observer, as on no occasion did he interfere or open his mouth, or appear interested by any thing that was said or done. I well knew, that Thistlewood, in all his transactions was surrounded by police agents and spies, and after paying down my receipt as subscriptions, I hastened out of the room, although pressed to stay. In the course of many professions, of devotion to the cause of liberty, I heard Davidson say, that the Earl of Harrowby had threatened not to employ him any farther, "because he was a damned seditious fellow:" this added much to my suspicion of the man, well knowing, that persons in the station of Earl Harrowby, are in the habit of employing the most respectable and most eminent tradesmen in the line which Davidson professes. But to return to the Bench: on reading the contents of Davidson's letter, I instantly put it into the fire, which is my common practice with letters of all descriptions, which I do not think proper to print. A day or two after, I mentioned the circumstance to Mrs. Carlile, and she immediately observed, that such a man had been to Fleet Street, and had said that the walls of no prison should long confine me. I took no notice of this letter whatever, either by answer or in any other shape, and within a week this Mr. Davidson made it his business to call upon me, in the Bench. It happened that Mr. West, of the Strand, and Mr. Fulham, of St. Luke's, were present, and Mr. Davidson, knowing those persons by sight, did not hesitate to open his business, by asking, if I had not received a letter from him, with such and such proposals. I answered, yes. He wished to know what I thought of it. I told him that I thought it a very foolish project, and no object to be gained by it; and that he and his companions should reserve themselves for a more useful and important purpose. He hem'd and haw'd for a few minutes, and left us, apparently discontented; after I told him, that if ever a real struggle for liberty should take place, that I would never shrink from taking a part in it. I neither

saw or heard more of Mr. Davidson, until the Saturday preceeding the Finsbury meeting of the 15th November, when I have every reason to believe, that the gentleman was sent again to me, as I had then notice of being brought up for judgment on the Tuesday following. He came in company with a ruffian-looking fellow, whom I did not know, until I heard his name mentioned, and I found it to be one of Mr. Thistlewood's party, who was much suspected of being the Castles of that day, who gave the information to the Home Department and the Lord Mayor, of all the mad and foolish projects of Thistlewood. At first they found me alone, and appeared to have no object whatever in calling upon me, further than to say, that they were going to the meeting, on the Monday following, well armed, and that if they were interrupted, they would use them to the purpose. I, who had publicly recommended this measure, could not disapprove of what they avowed their intention to be, after having witnessed the massacre of an unarmed meeting at Manchester. It fortunately happened, before they had gone any further, that a rap at the door introduced a fourth person, to my great satisfaction; when I put my hand into my pocket, and gave them five shillings towards the expenses of the meeting, when they made a very awkward apology, for taking money from a prisoner, and finding themselves interrupted, left the room. The person who came in was an artist, that I had employed on several occasions, and he expressed his surprise and suspicion of my visitors, after they were gone. I have never heard any thing further of the party, until the new plot was discovered, and I have not a doubt in my own bosom, but that it will be as clearly traced to the ministers, as was that of Castles and Spa Fields, and Oliver and the Derby Plot. I have forbore to mention the name of Mr. Davidson's companion who visited me, as he is not mentioned by name in the new plot; but if I see his name brought forward as an evidence, I will disclose it in due time. He was the most sanguinary ruffian in conversation I had ever met with, and breathed nothing but destruction, not only on his enemies, but those who might have been presumed to be acting on the same side with him, but not agreeable to his views. By enquiry, I found he had been a gentleman's servant, but for a long time past, had no visible mode of getting a living.

The circumstance of Lord Harrowby's having the intelligence com-

communicated to him in the Park, the morning before this dreadful work was to have begun. Lord Harrowby's house to be the scene of action. Davidson's avowed connection with Lord Harrowby in business. Davidsons going to an adjoining house to light a candle, with sword, belt and pistols quite open and visible. Davidson's being the only man standing guard at the entrance of the place of meeting, with a blunderbuss loaded and a sword. Suffering the officers to secure him or to pass without any resistance up in the loft: his appeal to the soldiers and others at Bow Street, whether he did not surrender at request without resistance; his apparent *sang froid*, and "readiness to die in the cause of liberty," all strike as *prima facie* evidence, that he is the tool, or one of the tools that Lord Harrowby and his colleagues have been working with. As soon as the terror which those things excite has subsided a little, and the alleged conspirators are put on their trial, the public will then begin to see the whole thing in its proper light. I have a knowledge of three of the names of those who are taken only. Thistlewood, Davidson, and Ings the butcher, and from what I know of Ings the butcher, although he has been described in the papers as the most ferocious in conduct and appearance; yet I have not a doubt, but that on his trial he will be found to have been lately entrapped into this gang, and to have been quite a misled man, and ignorant of the character of the men he was acting with; and that he has not been connected with or known to them many weeks. Ings comes from Portsmouth, where he married a woman with a small property; and in consequence of the breaking up of the war he made a fruitless attempt to improve it, in his trade as a butcher. He has tried several other places, and has been equally unsuccessful, till at length, worn down with despair, he consented to let his wife return to Portsmouth and support herself and children with what little property she had left there: whilst he should try to follow some useful employment. He opened a coffee shop in the neighbourhood of White Chapel, and sold the political pamphlets of the day, this was his first career in politics, no further back than last September, and by his coming to my shop for pamphlets; he got me to draw him up a posting bill announcing his coffee shop, under the epithet of "Republican." He soon found that the neighbourhood was too poor to afford him a living in this line, and a few days before

I left London, he called on me in the Bench, quite in despair as to his own prospects, and melancholy to reflect that his wife found it necessary to return to Portsmouth, where it was impossible that he could do any thing for himself and family. I have every reason to believe, that up to this moment, the middle of November, Ings had no knowledge of, or connection with Thistlewood, and by what fatal mishap he has lately been entrapped into this alleged plot, I am at a loss to discover. His whole demeanor to me was that of a strictly sober and moral man, lost in despair, because he could not support his wife and family as he could wish; and I should have thought him the last man to have joined any project of Thistlewood's. It is well known, that the ministers have had the means of bringing Thistlewood to trial for a seditious conspiracy, fifty times since his acquittal for high treason: but this would not answer their purpose, they have encouraged him to go on continually surrounded by their agents. Mr. Stafford of Bow Street, made an observation in the winter of 1817—18, that they could lay hold of Preston and Thistlewood at any time, but these were not the men they wanted, there were others of much more importance and more danger to the government. Although I have not the most distant idea that Thistlewood or Preston ever took a farthing from the government, yet they have made themselves just as useful to them as if they did, and the ministers by sending their own instigators amongst them have quite directed the conduct of Thistlewood to suit their own purposes. On whatever charge they are tried, I really hope for the acquittal of the men; and any hint or statement of facts that is thrown out here is not intended to operate against any of them, but rather to shew in their behalf that the ministers are the instigators of this as well as of all the plots that have lately made so much noise. I could not avoid mentioning names to develope this business fully, or not a man amongst them should have received the slightest impression of wrong from any thing I could offer to the public. The circumstance of the box of ball cartridges and pike heads and handles, with a variety of other destructive weapons being placed in the house of Tidd or Tadd in Baldwin's Gardens shews, that it is an act of the police agents who came an hour after it had been so left and seized it. I have not a doubt in my own mind, but that all this quantity of ammunition, &c. will

be like the Spa Fields waggon full, which at last descended to a few bullets put into the foot of an old stocking by Castles. It is not at all probable that those men who had not a halfpenny in their pockets should have spent two or three hundred pounds in all these weapons and ammunition. The thing is as clear to me as the affair of either Castles or Oliver. And I really hope to see the real conspirators finally brought to justice. This will be a fertile subject for a few weeks, so I shall recur to it in my next.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 28th, 1820.

TRIALS OF MESSRS. WATLING, HARRIS, WHITEHORNE, SAINSBURY, SHORTER, AND WEDDERBURNE.

The trials of the above-named persons, who have been in the habit of selling the varied political pamphlets of the day, came on last week, rather sudden, or sooner than expected. The five first named defendants had a verdict of guilty given against them, for selling the second number of the first volume of the Republican, and Wedderburne for saying something which Chief Justice Abbott describes as scandalizing the Christian religion. Mr. Shorter, it appears, was put a second time on his trial, for publishing the fifth number of the same volume; and he might make up his mind for a heavier punishment for his pertinacity, in daring to defend his conduct against any charge that the law officers of the Crown might be pleased to bring against him. Feeling some interest in those proceedings, and truly sorry that any man or woman should suffer an hour's imprisonment on account of any thing that I have printed, or published, I shall proceed to state a few facts, as connected with this business. In the report of the trial, as printed in the New (or mock) Times; and here it is necessary that I should give the reader an account why I read or prefer such a paper; but such is the case: I give the preference to Dr. Stoddart's paper before any other that is printed in the country: in the first place, I can collect more facts, and the real state of things much better from this paper, than from any other. This I do by generally reversing the Doctor's own political opinions and assertions; and by doing this, I find the Doctor as true and as good a Republican, as he was, when, in connection with Robert Southey, Poet Laureate, and Daniel Stewart, proprietor of the Courier, he refused to put a comb in his hair, as those gentlemen used to say, and to act upon it, that a comb was aristocratical, and that the use of the fingers was the primitive mode of adjusting the hair—"When Adam delv'd and Eve span."

I must confess that I am angry with the Doctor, because, like

many others, he neglects me, whilst I no longer remain a prosperous neighbour of his. I am not aware that the Doctor has noticed any thing that I have written from my rural retreat; yet he noticed every article I was in the habit of sending to him, whilst his neighbour. This is not generous of the Doctor. But to return to the point. In the report of the trial in this paper, the Attorney-General is made to say, in answer to a suggestion from Mr. Watling, that the author of this letter remains unnoticed, and (making some allusions to Mr. Sherwin as the author), that he really would bring the author to justice if he could reach him. Now, this is a false assertion, for the Attorney-General knows as well as I do, that I am the author of the letter. I stated this clearly at Bow-street, when asked by Mr. Birnie (I believe) whether I knew the purport of the libel for which I offered to become bail, I answered that "I must certainly know the purport of this libel as you call it, as I am the author of that letter." I wrote the letter entirely myself, corrected it from the press, and no other person either added or took a word from it. The Attorney-General further knows that if I had been put on my trial for this letter, or any other that I have ever written, I should have defended them sentence by sentence. He knew that those persons who have been tried would not do so; he knew that it would not be their interest to do so, and accordingly he has made arrangements for moving me off from London, that he might have something like an excuse for getting those innocent men into his destructive grasp. The Solicitor-General, in reply to the Jury's recommendation of Luke Whitehorn to mercy, observed, "that it was not the intention of the Law Officers of the Crown to press for judgment against these men, further than they shall think necessary." If I might venture to put the Learned Gentleman's observation in a figurative shape, it means as this: addressing the prisoner: "we have now made you prisoners of war, if you will bind yourselves not to take up arms against us again, we will allow you to return to your homes, but if we take you in arms again, we will put you to death." This is exact the case if either of those innocent persons (for they are certainly innocent of the charge brought against them in this instance), should venture to sell a pamphlet that is objectionable to the Law Officers of the Crown, they will immediately be brought up for judgment, so that justice is not to be meted out to them according to what the Jury have given a verdict of guilty against them for, but according to what they shall do in future. What is the situation of those men? They get their living by selling newspapers and pamphlets, and they are guided by no other object whatever, than to give the preference to those which have the greatest sales, as producing the greatest profit. It is as well known to lawyers Gifford and Copley and their coadjutors and employers as to those who sell pamphlets, that those political pamphlets (which are written in opposition to the system they are employed to prop,) have a great sale in preference to another description of pamphlets. Now, if those men, who have been lately tried are not allowed to sell those pamphlets they at once lose their

breath, and may not be able, even if inclined, to find other means of supporting their families. What are they to do? It is nonsense to confine themselves to the sale of what are called ministerial pamphlets: no one will purchase them. Watling has been the publisher of several of this kind, but could sell none of them. Poor Shadget soon wrote himself into the King's Bench Prison, and could not keep his head up when supported by all the Bishops, and the Society for the Suppression of Vice into the bargain. The Green Man sold about a dozen or two weekly. The White Dwarf was very much ill used by Lord Sidmouth, who refused to pay the stationer and printer after it had gone on for some time. The above-mentioned pamphlets were gratuitously laid on the tables of every coffee-house in London. When Mrs. Carlile re-opened her shop, I advised her to fill one of her windows with bibles, religious tracts, &c. This she did, but there they lay, no one would have them at a gift. The case is, that those sort of things have been so long crammed down the throats of the people, that they have taken a surfeit of them. It is a fact that when the priests were allowed to stand in my shop and distribute their pamphlets gratis, that the people would come and purchase mine at any price that I would put on them, whilst they would not deign to carry the religious tracts out of the shop when offered to them as a gift. Many a blush have I seen excited in the face of the poor priests, when the different persons would return their pamphlets after looking at the titles of them and say, "here take them again, they contain nothing but lies." Then what I would ask are the present individuals to do, if they are debarred the sale of pamphlets written in the cause of civil and religious liberty? They might as well put their shutters up at once, and go to prison for this charge of libel, as to prison for debt, or to the parish to support their families. It is a fact and a miserable one to contemplate, that the allowance of a prisoner at a county gaol is far superior to what the average of the labouring classes can obtain to feed on out of it, by their utmost exertions. There is not a prisoner confined in this prison where I am, but what takes more nourishment and food every day, than I allow myself as a matter of choice. I do not mean to say that they are overfed. They have little enough, if they had to labour on it. I found it the same, or much better at Newgate, and the Giltspur Street Compter in London. So that I am certain that there are thousands in England at this moment, who would better their condition if they could get themselves confined in a prison. Oh! unhappy and wretched country!

Mr. Doiby has been fortunate enough to put off his trial until after Easter-term: I say fortunately, because every delay of the kind throws the chances of escape from imprisonment in the defendant's favour. The delay was occasioned in consequence of the absence of Mr. Sherwin from London. Much curiosity and suspicion has been excited because Mr. Sherwin has never been exposed to a prosecution, and many have carried their suspicion so far, as to say, that he has been connected with the government. I hope to show if any

one will take my word for it, that this is all groundless suspicion and assertion. Mr. Sherwin was once the keeper of Southwell Bridewell, in Northamptonshire, in succession to his father, who filled that office many years, so much to the satisfaction of the magistrates of that town, that at the death of his father, Mr. Sherwin, although but fourteen years of age, was appointed to the office under the superintendence of the magistrates; prior to this, he had been sent to an Attorney's office. He continued in this situation above three years, and in the course of this time being much addicted to study in literature, as well as the arts and sciences, he met with some portion of the writings of Paine, and was so much struck with them, as unhesitatingly to avow himself the disciple of Paine in politics. This of course gave great offence to the magistrates who superintended the Bridewell, and who were chiefly priests: and Mr. Sherwin's politics occasioned his removal from this place. Being then under eighteen years of age, and a strong political feeling existing in the country in the winter of 1816-17, Mr. Sherwin came to London, and presented a political pamphlet that he had written to Mr. Hone and other publishers, and they were all afraid of it as too strong. The pamphlet was thrown by, and Mr. Sherwin soon perceived, that he could do nothing in his political career, unless he got a printing press and turned printer and publisher himself. This an ardent mind soon accomplished. He took a portion of an auction room in Fleet-street, at 183, the windows of which were not wanted for the auctioneer. Here he commenced his Republican, but finding the title objectionable to a few friends, he without giving it a fair trial changed it in six weeks to that of Weekly Political Register. I, having been bred a mechanic, followed it up close to this time. I had received all the education that a small borough in Devonshire in which I was born could afford me, at the early age of twelve years; it was confined to a knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and sufficient latin to read a physician's prescription. I was then by the interference of a friend, sent into the shop of a druggist and chemist at Exeter. Being so very young, I was called on to do many things that I conceived to be derogatory to my dignity as a scholar able to read physician's prescriptions: so I left the shop of the druggist and chemist in four months. Having no father to direct or controul me, I was rather at a loss what to do, too much of a man to go to school again, I lay idle for three months, and amused myself with drawing and colouring pictures to sell in my mother's shop, to the people who came thither from the country. It is rather singular that my mother should keep a retail shop, and that one of her principle wholesale dealers should be the firm which consisted of the brothers of the present Attorney General. I have received many a trifling *douceur* from his brothers on the payment of bills, but the favour he conferred on me last year, has added much to my esteem and connection with the family, and which I shall always acknowledge with gratitude. At the pressing wish of my mother, I was apprenticed to a business which I never liked, that of tin-plate working. My apprenticeship which was 7 years and 3 months was a

most painful one. The master considered that the only time necessary for recreation was 5 or 6 hours for sleep. By my play-fellows and companions, I was both blamed and derided for being a slave and the master depicted as a negro driver. I soon began to shew a disposition to lay claim to, not the "Rights of Man," but the rights of apprentices, which my master professed to be ignorant of, and like some of our aristocrats with respect to the "Rights of Man," he endeavoured to convince me, that apprentices had no rights at all. I could not brook this, as I saw my treatment to be very different from that of others under other masters. So that the whole of my apprenticeship consisted of nothing but conspiracies, rebellions and battles. On being relieved from that worse than seven years imprisonment, I made up my mind to follow that business no longer than I should be compelled: my ambition was to get my living by my pen, as more respectable and less laborious than working 14, 16 and 18 hours per day for but a very humble living. I was offered the office of exciseman, but I felt a strong antipathy to this, as it had accelerated the ruin and death of my father and the misery of my mother, who was left a widow with three infant children, and nothing but her hands to support them. I followed my business for near seven years as a journeyman in various parts of the country, as well as in town. I did all the work I could get to do before I left the business, and when I did leave it to look for something else, it was by the express desire and recommendation of an eminent manufacturer by whom I was then employed in London, and who feelingly told me, that he could not give me as much work to do as he knew I would wish to do, and what he considered necessary to keep my family in the manner I had studied to do. Being fired with ardour by the political publications of the day, in the spring of 1817, I resolved to try my fortune at giving them a more extensive circulation in London. I started in April and succeeded in placing them into twenty different shops in London and its vicinity, that never sold them before. My plan was to carry them to the different shops for sale as they were scarcely worth fetching, in point of profit, after Mr. Cobbett had gone to America, and the *Habeas Corpus* suspended. My ardour was not to be damped by any danger or difficulty. I persevered and many a day traversed thirty miles for a profit of eighteen-pence. I must beg pardon of the reader for having troubled him with this trifling and uninteresting detail or memoir of myself and Mr. Sherwin, but I am anxious to correct a misunderstanding that I know has gone abroad. At this moment, I am neither swayed by love or interest towards Mr. Sherwin; transacting at present no kind of business with him. However, to cut short my narrative, Mr. Sherwin had an opportunity by my applying to his office for publications, to witness my zeal for circulating them, and he very soon made a proposal to give up his little shop entirely to me if I would publish his Register. To this I assented, and in consequence of that I have always filled the gap between Mr. Sherwin and the government: so that they could not prosecute him without my giving evidence

against him. Mr. Sherwin in all his writings has displayed a candid, open, and manly conduct: he has always affixed his name to what he has written, and neither in his Political Register nor in my Republican has there been any disguise whatever. I never put my name to a line of another man's writing without acknowledging it, and Mr. Sherwin has never written any article in the Republican that has been published by me, save that to which he affixed his name during my trial. I was not at all pleased with the posting-bill that described that article, and I ordered it to be taken out of my window as soon as I was aware of its contents. It was that in which the judge was described as an "infamous judge" and noticed by Lord Erskine in the House of Lords. Mr. Dolby having put off his trial in consequence of Mr. Sherwin's absence from town, it is necessary to observe that the cause of Mr. Sherwin's absence is this, that he has arrived at the age of twenty one in this month of February, and is in Nottinghamshire to take possession of some property left him by his father. The number of his Register for which Mr. Dolby is prosecuted is No. 13, Vol. 5. about three weeks before Mr. Sherwin gave it up; it contains a Letter to the Soldiers. One or two individuals have been imprisoned for it in the country, but I am not aware that any information is pending against myself for this number. But I have such a mass of them that I hardly know what a half of them are for. I recollect Griffin Swanson, who is the necessary informer in this honourable warfare, coming to me and purchasing three of this number, and I jocosely observed to him, on the folly of accumulating any more informations, when they durst not go to trial with those that were pending. I also asked why he did not go to Mr. Sherwin's printing-office for them and file informations against the author and printer: he replied that Mr. Sherwin would not sell them: I assured him that he would, and jump at the prosecution. Griffin Swanson, the informer, called on Mr. Sherwin the same day or day following, and the answer that Mr. Sherwin gave him was this, "that if his master would finish what he had got in hand first, he would readily give him more to go on with." Mr. Sherwin always assured me, that if ever they tried me for any of his publications, he would be ready to stand forward in the Court and avow himself the author and printer; he has gone further, for he actually wrote to Sir Samuel Shepherd when he filed an information against me for the 18 No. Vol. 1. (which Mr. Brougham lately read to the House of Commons) and offered himself to Sir Samuel as the author and the fit person to prosecute. But no notice was taken of this, and the prosecution of that with three other informations were dropt in consequence of Mr. Hone's acquittals. They had the means of prosecuting Mr. Sherwin for this last mentioned number as Griffin Swanson had actually purchased one from Mr. Sherwin at his private lodging. So that we have pretty good proof, that the Attorney General does not altogether want the authors, he knows that the authors remains authors after committed to prison, but the vender who has a large family, is sure to be ruined and reduced to misery by the prosecution. It

here only that the Attorney General can act with effect. I have always considered a prison the best place for an author, particularly for a periodical work; he there finds nothing to draw his attention from that which it is essentially necessary he should confine himself to. I have often wished Mr. Sherwin two or three years imprisonment, as nothing would have done him so much good. It was always a bone of contention between him and I who should first enjoy this political martyrdom—this crown of glory. I never was happier in my life. I only wish to have my room door unlocked and the liberty of walking in the open air at discretion for the better preservation and improvement of my health. I have thrown out this tedious detail with a hope of setting the public right with respect to Mr. Sherwin; and I have done this at a time when I have nothing to hope nor fear from him. I consider for my own part that Mr. Shorter's observation was strictly applicable, that the the law-officers of the Crown were like the Bank Directors and their lawyers, they look after the utterers and leave the fabricators alone.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 27th, 1820.

VICE *versus* REASON.

Arrest of Mrs. Carlile on a Judge's warrant!

On Wednesday the 23 ult., two officers entered the shop of Mrs. Carlile, 55, Fleet Street, and produced a judge's warrant, about two o'clock P.M. One gentleman who was present in the shop, and another who was near at hand, immediately offered bail but were refused. She was immediately taken away to the Serjeant's Inn Coffee House in Chancery Lane. It was some time before it was known to the people employed in the shop where those gallant gentlemen had escorted Mrs. C. An immediate appeal was made to such friends as lived in the neighbourhood to bail her; but it unfortunately happened that they were all absent from home. About 7 o'clock, a number of gentlemen to the amount of 20 were in attendance at Chancery Lane to give bail, when a scruple was raised, that the Judge was not to be found. At length, when it was near 10 o'clock, she was removed to the residence of the Judge, in Russel Square, and the bail of Mr. Whitaker of Union Street, Borough, and Mr. Davidson of Duke Street, Smithfield, was taken. Mrs. C. got home to Fleet Street the same evening, but not without having taken a severe cold from being confined 8 hours in damp shoes, and in a room that is generally filled with the worst of characters; perjurers and swindlers, jew-bail and judge's tipstiffs.

The flagrant injustice of this act, as well as nature, equally excite our indignation. A criminal information is filed against Mrs. Carlile in November, she attends every summons that is sent her on the business punctually, and cautiously provides herself with bail on each occasion of going to the court. She does not shew the least disposition to shrink from the accusation; but on the contrary, furnishes

them with her real name, which they could not otherwise obtain, and in which she might have foiled them ultimately, as they were proceeding against her in the name of *Charlotte* instead of *Jane*. In no instance of the prosecution do they require sureties for her appearance; she pleads not guilty, and receives notice of trial in Hilary Term for the sittings after term. The term expires, and another notice is served countermanding the former notice of trial, without stating any definite period. Ten days after all this, a warrant is issued against her; she is arrested and ordered to find bail to appear, and take her trial. Now the society who could empower an individual to act in this mode, must be devoid of every feeling of humanity; during the whole of the proceedings against Mrs. C. sureties were never required from her; and for the society to be capable of issuing a warrant for her arrest near four months after the prosecution has commenced, and when the slightest hint that bail was necessary, would have been instantly attended to, displays, a spirit of persecution that almost rivals the days of Queen Mary. Mrs. Carlile, thinking that they would drop the prosecution of a woman if she desisted from publishing the trial, refused to re-assume the publication when she opened the shop on her own and children's account. But she now perceives her mistake, and she shall immediately begin to publish the report of the trial, commencing with the proceedings of the second day. The proceedings of the first day will be sold up to the reading of the Age of Reason; and I pledge myself on my liberation, to make the whole report complete, or to do it sooner if I can find a publisher that has the resolution. I would recommend those persons who have the few sheets that have been published, not to throw them away, as sooner or later the whole shall be published if I survive this imprisonment.

The whole annals of the history of libel, and libel law, can display nothing like this treatment of Mrs. Carlile, and the malignity of her persecutors. The Judges of the Court of King's Bench well knew that I should not attempt to exculpate myself from a share or a direction of the whole publication; but they knew that I should defend not only the right of publishing a report of the trial but the contents of that report; and they very gravely and prudently for themselves say, "you had better omit the name of Richard Carlile and proceed against the wife only." She is dragged before the court at a moment when they knew that she was so far advanced in pregnancy as to find it necessary to keep quite at home. Eight weeks do not elapse from her confinement, before she is compelled to stand before their Lordships again, and after all this, with a suckling infant not three months old, she is dragged through the streets by a warrant issued on account of the same prosecution. I now tell them that if they dare to try me for causing the report of my trial to be published, they shall have the evidence of every one that was in my employ at the time, with Mrs. Carlile to the bargain, to prove that it was published by my order and direction; that I prepared it for the press and corrected every sheet of it.

R. CARLILE.

TO R. CARLILE.

FRIEND,

I perceive, by thy notice to thy Correspondents, that thou hast received one of my pamphlets; but thou say, "without any communication or direction." I have only to say it was not intended by me to have been sent to thee. I left it with the young man who appeared to superintend thy business in Fleet Street, for his own perusal, and, if thought fit, to expose a few for sale, as some other political booksellers have done; but as thou have received it, and made some comments upon it, wherein I conceive thou have done me wrong, I trust thou wilt give this article insertion in thy next number of the Republican.

I cannot well understand that part in thy recommendation to all defenders of the Christian Religion, that "they should learn to defend their religion without the assistance of the fable on which it is founded." The title of my work is, "*A Vindication of the Principles of Christianity*;" and I believe I have been consistent in confining myself to that subject: indeed I have said, as respects the Scriptures, "I appeal not so much to them with regard to the Deist, as to the evidence for truth in his own mind;" and that "I have not quoted them so much for proofs as for illustrations of my subject;" "and to reject them merely because they are Scripture, will argue a narrow and prejudiced mind." But the scope of my design may be seen clearly in the short preface to my work.

Thou say, "It cannot be deemed a defence or disputation, where the grounds of dispute are first insisted on as infallible." I have ever misunderstood the Deists if they do not insist on the grounds of their system being infallible; but I do not know where I have insisted on infallibility. I have not written with a view to disputation; but have said, "In this little tract my view is not so much to oppose and pull down error, as to set up truth: not so much to oppose the Deist, and his manner of reasoning, as to point out the truth of the Christian religion; by shewing with reference to the state of man, the importance and the necessity of the aid which it reveals; believing this to be the shortest way, and least liable to give offence" to those for whom it is intended.

Passing over the sarcastic mention made of the "motion of the spirit," I proceed to the concluding remarks, viz. "It appears to us that he became a member of the London corresponding Society, more from whim and caprice than from any fixed principle or idea of the necessity of Civil and Religious Liberty." This is an assertion without any reasonable ground; but thou proceed, "There have been but few apostates amongst its members from the principles of that Society." This I also consider as an unwarrantable charge of apostacy, and where R. C. has gathered it I cannot tell; surely not from that part where I have avowed my sentiments thus, "I would combat no man's opinions with any other weapon than that of persuasion and argument. I am still a warm friend to civil and religious liberty,

and wish every one to be fully persuaded in his own mind." R. C. appears to have split on that rock of opinion, by which he is led to believe that no Christian can be a real friend to liberty, or that the principles of Christianity are unfavourable to it; hence arises his indiscreet zeal in attacking the principles instead of the abuses of Christianity.

W. GRIMSHAW.

22nd of the 2nd Month, 1820.

As friend Grimshaw thinks we have not done him justice, we readily give insertion to his letter. We read the whole of his preface, or the memoir of his pamphlet, and went into about half a dozen pages of the pamphlet, but finding nothing more than a transcript of all the pretended defences of the Christian Religion or its assumed principles, we dropt it, not being called on in any shape to notice it. In fact, we have lately read so much of this repetition, that we sicken almost at the first sight of it. Friend Grimshaw will defend the principles of his religion with much more effect, if he would turn his pen against the Attorney-General and Chief Justice Abbott, and demand of them, why they are afraid to have those "sacred writings" examined? It is cowardly to throw down the gauntlet to the infidel to the Christian religion, when those two officious gentlemen are daily endeavouring to crush those who shall dare to sell any thing that calls this holy religion of the law in question. It is singular that both of these gentlemen should possess credit for being Deists in private.—Chief Justice Abbott made an imitation of the atheistical Lucretius, a subject for a prize essay while at college, and won it. We have said enough of Robert Gifford to convince every one that he is a Deist in disguise.

THE EDITOR.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
May the Search of Truth stop no where, till there is no more to find, S. Oakley, and a few friends to Liberty	1	10	6
Mr. Garland Battel, Chelsea	0	5	0
Mr. Mills	0	5	0
A Rich Radical	10	0	0
Two Grand Jurymen	2	0	0
A small Subscription by a few friends at Mr. Rottists, Sir Isaac Newton, Nottingham, for Mr. Carlile, towards supporting him in confinement. The sum subscribed	7	13	4
The offering of a few Shoemakers in St. Mary-le-bone, saved last week by abstaining from the use of Tea and Coffee	0	9	0
M. Jones's Penny Subscription	0	5	0
J. C. Monthley	0	9	0
A friend to the cause	1	16	8
From the Shade of Algernon Sydney to R. Carlile, wishing him health and liberty	1	0	0
J. B.	0	2	6
A well-wisher	0	10	0

RADICAL REFORM BEGUN AT CARLTON HOUSE, BY THE ORDER OF THE KING.

As one of the avowed, and we hope, evident principles of this work is the discouragement of vice, immorality, and profaneness, we feel ourselves called upon to assist in the publication of the following:—

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Tuesday, Feb. 22.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION,

For the encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for the preventing and punishing of Vice, Profaneness, and immorality.

GEORGE R.

We, most seriously and religiously considering, that it is an indispensable duty on us to be careful, above all other things, to preserve and advance the honour and service of Almighty God, and to discourage and suppress all vice, profaneness, debauchery, and immorality, which are so highly displeasing to God, so great a reproach to our religion and government, and (by means of the frequent ill examples of the practices thereof) have so fatal a tendency to the corruption of many of our loving subjects, otherwise religiously and virtuously disposed, and which (if not timely remedied) may justly draw down the Divine vengeance on us and our kingdoms; we also humbly acknowledging that we cannot expect the blessing and goodness of Almighty God (by whom kings reign, and on which we entirely rely) to make our reign happy and prosperous to ourselves and our people, without a religious observance of God's holy laws: to the intent, therefore, that religion, piety, and good manners may (according to our most hearty desire) flourish and increase under our administration and government, we have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, and do hereby declare our royal purpose and resolution to discountenance and punish all manner of vice, profaneness, and immorality, in all persons of whatever degree or quality within this our realm, and particularly in such as are employed near our royal person; and that, for the encouragement of religion and morality, we will, upon all occasions, distinguish persons of piety and virtue, by marks of our royal favour; and we do expect and require, that all persons of honour or in place of authority, will give good example by their own virtue and piety, and to their utmost contribute to the discountenancing persons of dissolute and debauched lives, that they, being reduced by that means to shame and contempt for their loose and evil actions and behaviour, may be thereby also enforced the sooner to reform their ill habits and practices, and that the visible displeasure of good men towards them may (as far as it is possible) supply what the laws (probably) cannot altogether prevent; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and prohibit all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, from playing on the Lord's day at

dice, cards, or any other game whatsoever, either in public or private houses, or other place or places whatsoever; and we do hereby require and command them and every of them, decently and reverently to attend the worship of God, on every Lord's day, on pain of our highest displeasure, and of being proceeded against with the utmost rigour that may be by law; and for the more effectual reforming all such persons who, by reason of their dissolute lives and conversations, are a scandal to our kingdom, our further pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command all our Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all other our officers and ministers, both ecclesiastical and civil, and all other our subjects whom it may concern, to be very vigilant and strict in the discovery and the effectual prosecution and punishment of all persons who shall be guilty of excessive drinking, blasphemy, profane swearing, and cursing, lewdness, profanation of the Lord's day, or other dissolute, immoral, or disorderly practices; and that they take care also effectually to suppress all public gaming-houses and places, and other lewd and disorderly houses, and to put in execution the statute made in the 29th year of the reign of the late King Charles II., entitled "An Act for the better observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday;" and also so much of an Act of Parliament made in the 9th year of the reign of the late King William III., entitled, "An Act for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness," as is now in force, and all other laws now in force for the punishing and suppressing any of the vices aforesaid: and also to suppress and prevent all gaming whatsoever in public or private houses on the Lord's day; and likewise that they take effectual care to prevent all persons keeping taverns, chocolate-houses, coffee-houses, or other public-houses whatsoever, from selling wine, chocolate, coffee, ale, beer, or other liquors, or receiving or permitting guests to be or remain in such their houses in the time of divine service on the Lord's day, as they will answer it to God Almighty, and upon pain of our highest displeasure; and for the more effectual proceeding herein, we do hereby direct and command all our Judges of assize and Justices of the Peace to give strict charges at their respective assizes and sessions for the due prosecution and punishment of all persons that shall presume to offend in any of the kinds aforesaid, and also of all persons, that contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the said laws in execution; and that they do, at their respective assizes and quarter-sessions of the peace, cause this our Royal Proclamation to be publicly read in open Court, immediately before the charge is given; and we do hereby further charge and command every minister in his respective parish-church or chapel, to read, or cause to be read, this our Proclamation, at least four times in every year, immediately after divine service, and to incite and stir up their respective auditories to the practice of piety and virtue, and the avoiding of all immorality and profaneness; and to the end that all vice and debauchery may be prevented, and religion and virtue practised by all officers, private soldiers, and mariners

and others who are employed in our service by sea and land, we do hereby strictly command all our commanders and officers whatsoever that they do take care to avoid any profaneness, debauchery, and other immoralities, and that by their own good and virtuous lives and conversations they do set good examples to all such as are under their care and authority, and likewise take care of and inspect the behaviour of all such as are under them, and punish all those who shall be guilty of any of the offences aforesaid, as they will be answerable for the ill-consequences of their neglect herein.

Given at our Court at Carlton-house, this 12th day of February, 1820, and in the first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

It may not be amiss to make a few observations on this reproduction; we are aware that it is a subject, that would call down the vengeance of the Attorney General if we were to do it justice, but to pass it over in silence would be a total want of principle, and a neglect of duty. This proclamation is now considered, both by its deliverer and receiver, as a mere usual and common place document. Those who have been present at the opening of an assize, must have perceived that the clerk of the court yawns over it two or three times whilst reading it; and it ever puts the priests to the blush, when they find it necessary to read it; but this is very seldom, and is a subject worth the attention of the informer, who may recover a penalty on the neglect thereof. It is worthy of notice, that this was made a legal document during the reign of Queen Anne, and that no less a person than the secretary Lord Bolingbroke was the instrument of introducing it into the House of Commons; a man, the tennor of whose whole life was in avowed opposition to it. There was a time when proclamations of this kind, and in fact of every kind, produced a considerable effect in this country, they were considered almost tantamount to a law: but that day is gone by, and they are now thought as much of as the king's bill of fare for dinner. They are now almost out of fashion, and we doubt whether the reign of George the Fourth will ever produce half a dozen of them or not. The circular of a secretary of state is thought much more of, and paid more attention to than a royal proclamation. We could say much on the various recommendations contained in this proclamation, but for the sake of our venders we durst not; suffice it, that we say, "*Example is better than precept.*"

We believe that, according to the laws and admitted maxims of this country, adultery might be considered to embrace all the offences denounced in this proclamation; it is a fashionable vice, has a most immoral tendency, and is the result of debauchery. Now we cannot help thinking that the name which is attached to this document is not altogether free from what the late Lord Ellenborough called this venial offence. It is generally believed at the West End of the Town, that this observation of the law lord, gave rise to a very ludicrous toast in the presence of both the then Chief Justice and nominal Chief Magistrate, being no less than, "The venial de-

lights of crim con." It has been understood to have been introduced by the one at the expence of a joke on the other.

Another vice, which becomes more speedily fatal and disastrous to families, which is denounced in this proclamation, is that of gaming. We believe that Carlton House has not been altogether free from this vice; and it is satisfactorily known, that one of the king's brothers has suffered severely by it. We really hope that the example as well as the precept will issue from the right quarter, for there are a certain race of beings, who look to this spot as the origin of fashion, and are ready to catch at a royal and fashionable vice in preference to a royal virtue. It may be, that they are so much more accustomed to the former than the latter; but we hope that, in unison with the head of this article, and the proclamation, that a radical reform will begin in the right quarter. We hope that his *most sacred Majesty* will unite with the less wealthy radicals, and strictly adhere to an abstinence from all spirituous liquors and other destructive and heavily excised articles. A passion for gaming is in our opinion more criminal than suicide: the former is the continual cause of pain, the latter is generally resorted to as a relief from pain; the one is the cause, the other the effect only. It is currently reported, that a son who took 10,000l. a year to look after his father, immediately pawned the whole for 25,000l. down, and lost it immediately at the gaming table. Gaming is the most hideous vice known: it leads to more misery than any other vice whatever, it is a kind of irremediable vice, which reform nor repentance cannot renovate the health and comfort it destroys. It is equally pernicious to the prince and the peasant, to him who plays for a thousand, a pound, or a penny. It is the most fatal of all passions, and should be discouraged by pains and penalties. Its devotees, whether rich or poor, are almost sure to terminate in robbers or desperate assassins.

THE EDITOR.

ROASTED WHEAT.

It appears the government have taken the alarm at the progress this article has made in the metropolis as a beverage for breakfast, &c. and has ordered the excise officers to seize all they could find among the different venders, pretending that they have a statute law that can be strained to justify this step. It is satisfactory to know, that although the sale might be interrupted, every individual has the means of providing for his own consumption by purchasing the wheat from a corn-chandler, and roasting it himself; and in addition to this, we are not likely to have a statute until the new parliament meets, to prevent the use of British herbs instead of tea.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

(Continued from page 216.)

It is a very ancient reproach, suggested by the ignorance or the malice of infidelity, that the Christians allured into their party, the most atrocious criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away, in the water of baptism, the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this reproach, when it is cleared from misrepresentation, contributes as much to the honour, as it did to the increase of the church.* The friends of Christianity may acknowledge, without a blush, that many of the most eminent saints had been, before their baptism, the most abandoned sinners. Those persons, who in the world had followed, though in an imperfect manner, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derived such a calm satisfaction from the opinion of their own rectitude, as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror, which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their divine master, the missionaries of the Gospel disdained not the society of men, and especially of women, oppressed by the consciousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices. As they emerged from sin and superstition, to the glorious hope of immortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not only of virtue, but of penitence. The desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their soul; and it is well known, that while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions hurry us, with rapid violence, over the space which lies between the most opposite extremes.

When the new converts had been enrolled in the number of the faithful, and were admitted to the sacraments of the church, they found themselves restrained from relapsing into their past disorders by another consideration, of a less spiritual, but of a very innocent and respectable nature. Any particular society that has departed from the great body of the nation, or the religion to which it belonged,

* The imputation of Celsus and Julian, with the defence of the fathers, are very fairly stated by Spanheim, *Commentaire sur les Césars de Julian*, p. 458.

immediately becomes the object of universal as well as invidious observation. In proportion to the smallness of its numbers, the character of the society may be affected by the virtue and vices of the persons who compose it; and every member is engaged to watch with the most vigilant attention over his own behaviour, and over that of his brethren, since, as he must expect to incur a part of the common disgrace, he may hope to enjoy a share of the common reputation. When the Christians of Bithynia were brought before the tribunal of the younger Pliny, they assured the proconsul, that, far from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission of those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of society; from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury, and fraud.* Near a century afterwards, Tertullian, with an honest pride, could boast, that very few Christians had suffered by the hand of the executioner, except on account of their religion.† Their serious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. As the greater number were of some trade or profession, it was incumbent on them, by the strictest integrity and the fairest dealing, to remove the suspicions which the profane are too apt to conceive against the appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of humility, meekness, and patience. The more they were persecuted, the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence, has been remarked by infidels, and was too often abused by perfidious friends.‡

It is a very honourable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians, that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. The bishops and doctors of the church, whose evidence attests, and whose authority might influence, the professions, the principles, and even the practice, of their contemporaries, had studied the scriptures with less skill and devotion; and they often re-

* Plin. Epist. x, 97.

† Tertullian, Apolog. c. 44. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Ant si alihud, jam non Christianus."

‡ The philosopher, Peregrinus, (of whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an account) imposed, for a long time, on the credulous simplicity of the Christians of Asia.

ceived, in the most literal sense, those rigid precepts of Christ and the apostles, to which the prudence of succeeding commentators has applied a loose and more figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitions to exalt the perfection of the gospel, above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity, and of patience, to a height which it is scarcely possible to attain, and much less to preserve, in our present state of weakness and corruption. A doctrine so extraordinary and so sublime, must inevitably command the veneration of the people; but it was ill calculated to obtain the suffrage of those worldly philosophers, who, in the conduct of this transitory life, consult only the feelings of nature and the interest of society.*

There are two very natural propensities which we may distinguish in the most virtuous and liberal disposition, the love of pleasure and the love of action. If the former be refined by art and learning, improved by the charms of social intercourse, and corrected by a just regard to economy, to health, and to reputation, it is productive of the greatest part of the happiness of private life. The love of action is a principle of a much stronger and more doubtful nature. It often leads to anger, to ambition, and to revenge; but when it is guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence, it becomes the parent of every virtue; and if those virtues are accompanied with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire, may be indebted for their safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man. To the love of pleasure we may therefore ascribe most of the agreeable; to the love of action, we may attribute most of the useful and respectable qualifications. The character in which both the one and the other should be united and harmonized, would seem to constitute the most perfect idea of human nature. The insensible and inactive disposition, which should be supposed alike destitute of both, would be rejected, by the common consent of mankind, as utterly incapable of procuring any happiness to the individual, or any public benefit to the world. But it was not in *this* world that the primitive Christians were desirous of making themselves either agreeable or useful.

The acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or fancy,

* See a very judicious treatise of Barbeyrac sur la Morale des Peres.

and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation, may employ the leisure of a liberal mind. Such amusements, however, were rejected with abhorrence, or admitted with the utmost caution, by the severity of the fathers, who despised all knowledge that was not useful to salvation, and who considered all levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech. In our present state of existence, the body is so inseparably connected with the soul, that it seems to be our interest to taste, with innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that faithful companion is susceptible. Very different was the reasoning of our devout predecessors; vainly aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels, they disdained, or they affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight.* Some of our senses indeed are necessary for our preservation, others for our subsistence, and others again for our information; and thus far it was impossible to reject the use of them. The first sensation of pleasure was marked as the first moment of their abuse. The unfeeling candidate for Heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the profane harmony of sounds, and to view with indifference the most finished productions of human art. Gay apparel, magnificent houses, and elegant furniture, were supposed to unite the double guilt of pride and of sensuality: a simple and mortified appearance was more suitable to the Christian who was certain of his sins, and doubtful of his salvation. In their censures of luxury, the fathers are extremely minute and circumstantial;† and among the various articles which excite their pious indignation, we may enumerate false hair, garments of any colour except white, instruments of music, vases of gold or silver, downy pillows, (as Jacob reposed his head on a stone) white bread, foreign wines, public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice of shaving the beard, which, according to the expression of Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces, and an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator.‡ When Christianity

* Luctant. Institut. Divin. l. vi, c. 20, 21, 22.

† Consult a work of Clemens of Alexandria, intitled the *Pædagogus*, which contains the rudiments of ethics as they were taught in the most celebrated of the Christian schools.

‡ Tertullian, de Spectaculiis, c. 23. Clemens Alexandrin, *Pædagog.* l. iii, c. 8.

was introduced among the rich and the polite, the observation of these singular laws was left, as it would be at present, to the few who were ambitious of superior sanctity. But it is always easy, as well as agreeable, for the inferior ranks of mankind to claim a merit from the contempt of that pomp and pleasure, which fortune has placed beyond their reach. The virtue of the primitive Christians, like that of the first Romans, was very frequently guarded by poverty and ignorance.

The chaste severity of the fathers, in whatever related to the commerce of the two sexes, flowed from the same principle; their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify the sensual, and degrade the spiritual, nature of man. It was their favourite opinion, that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Creator, he would have lived for ever in a state of virgin purity, and that some harmless mode of vegetation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings.* The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness of desire. The hesitation of the orthodox casuists on this interesting subject betrays the perplexity of men, unwilling to approve an institution, which they were compelled to tolerate.† The enumeration of the very whimsical laws, which they most circumstantially imposed on the marriage bed, would force a smile from the young, and a blush from the fair. It was their unanimous sentiment, that a first marriage was adequate to all the purposes of nature and of society. The sensual connexion was refined into a resemblance of the mystic union of Christ with his church, and was pronounced to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the persons who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against christian purity were soon excluded from the honours, and even from the alms of the church.‡ Since desire was imputed as a crime, and mar-

* Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, l. vii. c. 3. Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustin, &c. strongly inclined to this opinion.

† Some of the gnostic heretics were more consistent; they rejected the use of marriage.

‡ See a chain of tradition, from Justin Martyr to Jerome, in the *Morale des Peres*; c. iv, 6-26.

riage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with the same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the nearest approach to the divine perfection. It was with the utmost difficulty that ancient Rome could support the institution of six vestals;* but the primitive church was filled with a great number of persons of either sex, who had devoted themselves to the profession of perpetual chastity.† A few of these, among whom we may reckon the learned Origen, judged it the most prudent to disarm the tempter.‡ Some were insensible and some were invincible against the assaults of the flesh. Disdaining an ignominious flight, the virgins of the warm climate of Africa encountered the enemy in the closest engagement; they permitted priests and deacons to share their bed, and gloried amidst the flames of their unsullied purity. But insulted nature sometimes vindicated her rights, and this new species of martyrdom served only to introduce a new scandal into the church.§ Among the Christian Ascetics, however (a name which they soon acquired from their painful exercise), many, as they were less presumptuous, were probably more successful. The loss of sensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual pride. Even the multitude of Pagans were inclined to estimate the merit of the sacrifice by its apparent difficulty; and it was in the praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the fathers have poured forth the troubled stream of their eloquence.|| Such are the early traces of monastic principles and institutions,

* See a very curious Dissertation on the Vestals, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv, p. 161-227. Notwithstanding the honours and rewards, which were bestowed on those virgins, it was difficult to procure a sufficient number; nor could the dread of the most horrible death always restrain their incontinence.

† *Cupiditatem procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam*. Minucius Felix, c. 31. Justin. Apolog. Major. Athenagoras in Legat. c. 28. Tertullian de Cultu Fœmin. l. ii,

‡ Eusebius, l. vi, 8 Before the fame of Origen had excited envy and persecution, this extraordinary action was rather admired than censured. As it was his general practice to allegorize scripture, it seems unfortunate that, in this instance only, he should have adopted the literal sense.

§ Cyprian Epist, 4, and Dodwell Dissertat. Cyprianic. iii. Something like this rash attempt was long afterwards imputed to the founder of the order of Fontevrault. Bayle has amused himself and his readers on that very delicate subject.

|| Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. i, p. 125) gives a particular account of the dialogue of the ten virgins, as it was composed by Methodius bishop of Tyre. The praises of virginity are excessive.

which, in a subsequent age, have counterbalanced all the temporal advantages of Christianity.*

The Christians were not less averse to the business than to the pleasures of this world. The defence of our persons and property they knew not how to reconcile with the patient doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injuries, and commanded them to invite the repetition of fresh insults. Their simplicity was offended by the use of oaths, by the pomp of magistracy, and by the active contention of public life; nor could their humane ignorance be convinced, that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice, or by that of war; even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community.† It was acknowledged, that under a less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish constitution had been exercised, with the approbation of Heaven, by inspired prophets and by anointed kings. The Christians felt and confessed that such institutions might be necessary for the present system of the world, and they cheerfully submitted to the authority of their Pagan governors. But while they inculcated the maxims of passive obedience, they refused to take any active part in the civil administration or the military defence of the empire. Some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to those persons who, before their conversion, were already engaged in such violent and sanguinary occupation;‡ but it was impossible that the Christians, without denouncing a more sacred duty, could assume the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes.§ This indolent, or even criminal, dis-

* The Ascetics (as early as the second century) made a public profession of mortifying their bodies, and of abstaining from the use of flesh and wine. Mosheim, p. 310.

† See the *Morale des Peres*. The same patient principles have been revived since the reformation by the Socinians, the modern Anabaptists, and the Quakers. Barclay, the Apologist of the Quakers, has protected his brethren, by the authority of the Primitive Christians, p. 542-649.

‡ Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 21. *De Idololatria*, c. 17, 18. Origen *contra Celsum*, l. v. p. 253, l. vii, p. 348, l. viii, p. 422-428.

§ Tertullian (*de Corona Militis*, c. 11) suggests to them the expedient of deserting: a counsel, which, if it had been generally known, was not very proper to conciliate the favour of the Emperors towards the Christian sect.

regard to the public welfare exposed them to the contempt and reproaches of the Pagans, who very frequently asked, what must be the fate of the empire, attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect? * To this insulting question the Christian apologists returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to reveal the secret cause of their security; the expectation that, before the conversion of mankind was accomplished, war, government, the Roman empire, and the world itself, would be no more. It may be observed, that, in this instance likewise, the situation of the first Christians coincided very happily with their religious scruples, and that their aversion to an active life contributed rather to excuse them from the service, than to exclude them from the honours, of the state and army.

v. But the human character, however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return by degrees to its proper and natural level, and will resume those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition. The primitive christians were dead to the business and pleasures of the world; but their love of action, which could never be entirely extinguished, soon revived, and found a new occupation in the government of the church. A separate society, which attacked the established religion of the empire, was obliged to adopt some form of internal policy, and to appoint a sufficient number of ministers, intrusted not only with the spiritual functions, but even with the temporal direction, of the christian commonwealth. The safety of that society, its honour, its aggrandizement, were productive, even in the most pious minds, of a spirit of patriotism, such as the first of the Romans had felt for the republic, and, sometimes, of a similar indifference, in the use of whatever means might probably conduce to so desirable an end. The ambition of raising themselves or their friends to the honours and offices of the church was disguised by the laudable intention of devoting to the public benefit the power and consideration, which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their functions, they were frequently called upon to detect the errors of heresy or the arts of faction, to oppose the designs of per-

* As well as we can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen (l. viii, p. 438), his adversary, Celsus, had urged his objection with great force and candour.

fidious brethren, to stigmatize their characters with deserved infamy, and to expel them from the bosom of a society, whose peace and happiness they had attempted to disturb. The ecclesiastical governors of the christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; but as the former was refined, so the latter was insensibly corrupted, by the habits of government,—In the church as well as in the world, the persons who were placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness, by their knowledge of mankind, and by their dexterity in business; and while they concealed from others, and perhaps from themselves, the secret motives of their conduct, they too frequently relapsed into all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tinged with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

The government of the church has often been the subject, as well as the prize, of religious contention. The hostile disputants of Rome, of Paris, of Oxford, and of Geneva, have alike struggled to reduce the primitive and apostolic model* to the respective standards of their own policy. The few who have pursued this inquiry with more candour and impartiality are of opinion,† that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions, than to exclude the Christians of a future age from the liberty of varying their forms of ecclesiastical government according to the changes of times and circumstances. The scheme of policy, which, under their approbation, was adopted for the use of the first century, may be discovered from the practice of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, or of Corinth. The societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman empire were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution. The want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the *prophets*,‡ who were called to that

* The aristocratical party in France, as well as in England, has strenuously maintained the divine origin of bishops. But the calvinistical presbyters were impatient of a superior, and the Roman Pontiff refused to acknowledge an equal. See Fra Paolo.

† In the history of the Christian Hierachy, I have, for the most part, followed the learned and candid Morshiem

‡ For the prophets of the primitive church, see Moshien, *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes*, tom. ii. p. 132-208.

function without distinction of age, of sex, or of natural abilities, and who as often as they felt the divine impulse, poured forth the effusions of the spirit in the assembly of the faithful. But these extraordinary gifts were frequently abused or misapplied by the prophetic teachers. They displayed them at an improper season, presumptuously disturbed the service of the assembly, and by their pride or mistaken zeal they introduced, particularly in the apostolic church of Corinth, a long and melancholy train of disorders.* As the institution of prophets became useless, and even pernicious, their powers were withdrawn, and their office abolished. The public functions of religion were solely entrusted to the established ministers of the church, *bishops* and the *presbyters*; two appellations, which, in their first origin, appear to have distinguished the same office and the same order of persons. The name of presbyter was expressive of their age, or rather of their gravity and wisdom. The title of bishop denoted their inspection over the faith and manners of the Christians who were committed to their pastoral care. In proportion to the respective numbers of the faithful, a larger or smaller number of these *episcopal presbyters* guided each infant congregation with equal authority and with united counsels.†

But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate; and the order of public deliberations soon introduces the office of a president, invested at least with the authority of collecting the sentiments, and of executing the resolutions of the assembly. A regard for the public tranquillity, which would so frequently have been interrupted by annual or by occasional elections, induced the primitive Christians to constitute an honourable and perpetual magistracy, and to choose one of the wisest and most holy among their presbyters, to execute, during his life, the duties of their ecclesiastical governor. It was under these circumstances that the lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was

* See the epistles of St. Paul, and of Clemens, to the Corinthians.

† Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, l. vii.

appropriated to the dignity of its new president.* The advantages of this episcopal form of government, which appears to have been introduced before the end of the first century,† were so obvious and so important for the future greatness, as well as for the present peace of Christianity, that it was adopted without delay, by all the societies which were already scattered over the empire, had acquired in a very early period the sanction of antiquity,‡ and is still revered by the most powerful churches, both of the East and of the West, as a primitive and even as a divine establishment.§ It is needless to observe, that the pious and humble presbyters, who were first dignified with the episcopal title, could not possess, and would probably have rejected, the power and pomp which now encircles the tiara of the Roman pontiff, or the mitre of a German prelate. But we may define, in a few words, the narrow limits of their original jurisdiction, which was chiefly of a spiritual, though in some instances of a temporal nature.|| It consisted in the administration of the sacraments, and discipline of the church; the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; the consecration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigned their respective functions; the management of the public fund; and the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to ex-

* See Jerome ad Titum, c. 1, and Epistol, 85 (in the Benedictine edition, 101), and the elaborate apology of Blondel, pro sententia Hieronimi. The ancient state, as it is described by Jerome, of the bishop and presbyters of Alexandria, receives a remarkable confirmation from the patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 330. Vers. Pocock; whose testimony I know not how to reject, in spite of all the objections of the learned Pearson, in his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part i. c. 11.

† See the introduction to the Apocalypse. Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted in the seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Clemens (which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.

‡ *Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo*, has been a fact as well as a maxim, since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus.

§ After we have passed the difficulties of the first centuries, we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers.

|| See Mosheim in the first and second centuries. Ignatius (ad Smyrneus, c. 3, &c.) is fond of exalting the episcopal dignity. Le Clerc (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 599) very bluntly censures his conduct. Mosheim, with a more critical judgment (p. 161), suspects the purity even of the smaller epistles.

pose before the tribunal of an idolatrous judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercised according to the advice of the presbyterial college, and with the consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. The primitive bishops were considered only as the first of their equals, and the honourable servants of a free people. Whenever the episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new president was chosen among the presbyters, by the suffrage of the whole congregation, every member of which supposed himself invested with a sacred and sacerdotal character.*

Such was the mild and equal constitution, by which the Christians were governed more than an hundred years after the death of the apostles. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual, as well as friendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly. As the numbers of the faithful were gradually multiplied, they discovered the advantages which might result from a closer union of their interests and designs.

Towards the end of the second century, the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institutions of provincial synods, and they may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a representative council from the celebrated examples of their own country, the Amphietyons, the Achæan league, or the assemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a custom and as a law, that the bishops of the independent churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. Their deliberation were assisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and moderated by the presence of a listening multitude.† Their decrees, which were styled canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline; and it was natural to believe that

* *Nonne et Laci sacerdotes sumes?* Tertullian, *Exhort. ad Castitat.* c. 7. As the human heart is still the same, several of the observations which Mr. Hume has made on enthusiasm (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 76, quarto edit.) may be applied even to real inspiration.

† *Acta Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian.* Edit. Fell. p. 158. This council was composed of eighty-seven bishops from the provinces of Mauritania, Numidia, and Africa; some presbyters and deacons assisted at the assembly; *præsente plebis maxima parte.*

a liberal effusion of the holy spirit would be poured on the united assembly of the delegates of the christian people. The institution of synods was so well suited to private ambition and to public interest, that in the space of a few years it was received throughout the whole empire. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which naturally communicated and approved their respective proceedings; and the catholic church soon assumed a form, and acquired the strength, of a great federative republic.*

As the legislative authority of the particular churches was insensibly superseded by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power: and as soon as they were connected by a sense of their common interest, they were enabled to attack, with united vigour, the original rights of their clergy and people. The prelates of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied, by scripture allegories and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and of reason. They exalted the unity and power of the church, and it was represented in the *episcopal office*, of which every bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion.† Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion: it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicegerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high priest of the mosaic law. Their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal character invaded the freedom both of clerical and of popular elections; and if, in the administration of the church, they still consulted the judgment of the presbyters, or the inclination of the people, they most carefully inculcated the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the supreme authority which resided in the assembly of their brethren; but in the government of his peculiar diocese, each of

* *Aguntur præterea per Græcias, illas, certis in locis concilia, &c.* Tertullian de Jejuniis, c. 13. The African mentions it as a recent and foreign institution. The coalition of the christian churches is very ably explained by Mosheim, p. 164-170.

† Cyprian, in his admired treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, p. 75-86.

them exacted from his *flock* the same implicit obedience as if that favourite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd had been of a more exalted nature than that of his sheep * This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side, and some resistance on the other. The democratical part of the constitution was, in many places, very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious epithets of faction and schism; and the episcopal cause was indebted for its rapid progress to the labours of many active prelates, who, like Cyprian of Carthage, could reconcile the arts of the most ambitious statesman with the christian virtues which seem adapted to the character of a saint and martyr.†

The same causes which at first had destroyed the equality of the presbyters introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of rank, and from thence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often as in the spring and autumn they met in provincial synod, the difference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly felt among the members of the assembly, and the multitude was governed by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But the order of public proceedings required a more regular and less invidious distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in the councils of each province was conferred on the bishops of the principal city, and these aspiring prelates, who soon acquired the lofty titles of metropolitans and primates, secretly prepared themselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren the same authority which the bishops had so lately assumed above the college of presbyters.‡ Nor was it long before an emulation of pre-eminence and power prevailed among the metropolitans themselves, each of them affecting to display, in the most

* We may appeal to the whole tenor of Cyprian's conduct, of his doctrine, and of his Epistles. Le Clerc, in a short life of Cyprian (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xii, p. 207-378) has laid him open with great freedom and accuracy.

† If Novatus, Felicissimus, &c. whom the bishop of Carthage expelled from his church, and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of wickedness, the zeal of Cyprian must occasionally have prevailed over his veracity. For a very just account of these obscure quarrels, see Mosheim, p. 497-512.

‡ Mosheim, p. 269, 574. Dupin, *Antiquæ Eccles. Disciplin.* p. 19, 20.

pompous terms, the temporal honours and advantages of the city over which he presided; the numbers and opulence of the Christians who were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs who had arisen among them; and the purity with which they preserved the tradition of the faith, as it had been transmitted through a series of orthodox bishops from the apostle or the apostolic discipline, to whom the foundation of their church was ascribed.*

From every cause, either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces. The society of the faithful bore a just proportion to the capital of the empire; and the Roman church was the greatest, the most numerous, and, in regard to the West, the most ancient, of all the Christian establishments, many of which had received their religion from the pious labour of her missionaries. Instead of *one* apostolic founder, the utmost boast of Antioch, of Ephesus, or of Corinth, the banks of the Tyber were supposed to have been honoured with the preaching and martyrdom of the *two* most eminent among the apostles;† and the bishops of Rome very prudently claimed the inheritance of whatsoever prerogatives was attributed either to the person or the office of St Peter.‡ The bishops of Italy, and of the provinces were disposed to allow them a primacy of order and association (such was their very accurate expression) in the Christian aristocracy.§ But the power of a monarch was rejected with abhorrence; and the aspiring genius of Rome experienced from the nations of Asia and Africa a more vigorous

* Tertullian, in a distinct treatise, has pleaded against the heretics the right of prescription, as it was held by the apostolic churches.

† The journey of St. Peter to Rome is mentioned by most of the ancients (see Eusebius, ii, 25,) maintained by all the Catholics, allowed by some protestants (see Pearson and Dodwell de Success, Episcop. Roman.) but has been vigorously attacked by Spanheim (Miscellanea Sacra, iii, 9.) According to Father Hardouin, the monks of the thirteenth century, who composed the *Æneid*, represented St. Peter under the allegorical character of the Trojan hero.

‡ It is in French only, that the famous allusion to St. Peter's name is exact. *Tu es Pierre et sur cette pierre*.—The same is imperfect in Greek, Latin, Italian, &c. and totally unintelligible in our Teutonic languages.

§ Irenæus adv. Hæreses, iii. 3. Tertullian de Prescription. c. 36, and Cyprian Epistol. 27. 55, 71, 75. Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 764) and Mosheim (p. 255, 278) labour in the interpretation of these passages.—

resistance to her spiritual, than she had formerly done to her temporal, dominion. The patriotic Cyprian who ruled with the most absolute sway the church of Carthage and the provincial synods, opposed with resolution and success the ambition of the Roman pontiff, artfully connected his own cause with that of the eastern bishops, and, like Hannibal, sought out new allies in the heart of Asia.* If this Punic war was carried on without any effusion of blood, it was owing much less to the moderation than to the weakness of the contending prelates. Invectives and excommunications was *their* only weapons; and these, during the progress of the whole controversy, they hurled against each other with equal fury and devotion. The hard necessity of censuring either a pope, or a saint and martyr, distresses the moderate Catholics, whenever they are obliged to relate the particulars of a dispute, in which the champions of religion indulged such passions as seem much more adapted to the senate or to the camp.†

The progress of the ecclesiastical authority gave birth to the memorable distinction of the laity and of the clergy, which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans;‡ The former of these appellations comprehended the body of the Christian people; the latter, according to the signification of the word, was appropriated to the chosen portion that had been set apart for the service of religion; a celebrated order of men which has furnished the most important, though not always the most edifying subjects for modern history. Their mutual hostilities sometimes disturbed the peace of the infant church, but their zeal and activity were united in the common cause; and the love of power, which (under the most artful disguises) could insinuate itself into the breasts of bishops and martyrs, animated them to increase the number of their subjects, and to enlarge the limits of the Christian empire.

But the loose and rhetorical style of the fathers often appears favourable to the pretensions of Rome.

* See the sharp epistle from Firmilianus bishop of Casarea. to Stephen Bishop of Rome, ap. Cyprian. Epistol. 75.

† Concerning this dispute of the re-baptism of heretics, see the epistles of Cyprian, and the seventh book of Eusebius.

‡ For the origin of these words, see Mosheim, p. 141, Spanheim, Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 635. The distinction of *clerus* and *laicus* was established before the time of Tertullian.